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owner of the field, who turned his back and continued working. Then the man was angry with the field owner and wanted to fight with him, so the field owner litigated and was paid half a rupiah and a pig as a fine."

It is interesting that Fannes, who gave these anecdotes, on two or three occasions when there were dolls or native human carvings on my verandah, manipulated them in intercourse positions to the great amusement of a mixed audience and was laughingly reproved by some older men and women.

INCEST

In contrast to these accounts and behaviors the reaction to incest is interesting. There seems to be little tension and shame associated with it. Marriage to any known kin is considered improper, but marriages between second cousins occur without any social opprobrium. The uncertainty about more distant kinship ties and about the propriety of marriage to such persons is revealed in both Kolmani's and M[illegible]-lake's autobiography. In both cases these women were willing at first and then used a plea of kinship ties to avoid the marriage. Mother-son, father-daughter, and brother-sister incest were all denied as possibilities. Certainly I could find no local cases of any of these. However, there was an anecdote of brother-sister incest from the Kabola peninsula. In this case the brother had been away for many years and on his return slept with his younger sister, who had grown up during his absence. The affair was generally known; they lived openly together and had a child. The informant's comment on the situation was, "That is bad. People don't get gongs and makon in a marriage like that. Their kin were angry with them." The comments of the informant are almost more interesting than the anecdote itself. It would indicate a complete externalization of the incest breach. Not conscience but comment is offended.

Sexual relations with a stepmother or a sister-in-law are also frowned upon. There is social disapproval in such cases and whispered gossip in the village but no interference. Action on "incestuous" adultery is held in check by the sense of familial solidarity. In one case of rumored sister-in-law "incest" the husband ignored the matter and stayed away from the house most of the time. In another such case, however, the husband and the woman's brother made a public scandal, imposed a heavy fine, broke the marriage, and prevented the couple, who seem to have been infatuated with each other, from marrying. In view of the levirate, it is surprising that even as much disapproval attached to the matter as did. In a case of stepmother "incest" the offended father

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sions of women's vigor and the covert respect in which they are held is the rareness of rape. I was able to collect only three cases, known to about five informants, and only one of these dealt with a local woman. This may indicate, however, no more than that women are not apt to refuse chance adventures. A further possible hint of the real status of women is that in warfare their heads are as valuable as those of men. Anecdotes of the last head-hunting wars revealed that out of ten persons dead or injured, four were women. However, since even half-grown children can be counted in the system of revenge, we must conclude that all adults or near adults are of equal value in this respect.

Still another index of the real, even though disavowed, equality between women and men was contained in a bit of casual chaffing. Some men were tugging at heavy firewood and it hurt their hands. One of them said jokingly, "Our hands are not used to it. A woman should do this." I answered in the same vein, "That is because you don't work as they do." The answer was, "Yes, our hands are soft, so when we hit a woman it doesn't hurt. But their hands are calloused, so when they hit us it hurts a lot." A woman who was sitting near by joined in with the comment, "That is a lie. Men's hands are heavy too."

However, the questions of preference in the sex of children, of rape, and of physical vigor are merely symptoms. Women are in a position to refuse men sexual gratification and food. They can either facilitate or impede a man's financial career. An aggressive woman is usually able to humiliate a man. The case of Fuimai and Maleta, her brother-in-law, is instructive in this connection precisely because their quarrel was one of the rare ones that did not center upon fisfance, and the sexual element, if it entered, was not stressed. Fuimai's husband could not get along with her. He was seldom at home and she was looked at askance for her freedom with other men. It was whispered throughout the village that among others she had had intercourse with her brother-in-law, Maleta. One morning Maleta took a papaya from Fuimai's tree and sent a child with it to my house to sell it. Fuimai followed the child and took the money for the fruit. Maleta was furious, and in the quarrel that ensued he chopped down the three papaya trees near Fuimai's house. Everyone scrambled to strip the fallen trees, while Fuimai and Maleta continued their quarrel. Maleta sat sullenly on the ground below the verandah while Fuimai hurled a staccato of invective at him: "You should be ashamed! Were they your papaya trees? Is this basket I am weaving your basket, perhaps? Who always feeds you? You come here only to eat. You eat my fingers. I plant the fields of rice and corn. Whose fields are they? Are my fingers tasty? You should be ashamed." Here defi-

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[193 this situation in the absence of comparative or superlative forms for
554 modifiers. There are only intensifiers.
576 This state of affairs reveals several points. First, it suggests a consid-
erable sense of touchiness. There is a good deal of stress laid on saving
a person's face. This is carried so far that a man who has gone on an
[526 unsuccessful dunning trip may be given a small moko as a "luck token"
(*nakilwg*) to carry home—not as a payment, but as a face saver. The
next day a young boy may be sent to take back this moko, but the
dunner has not had the humiliation of returning empty-handed.
154 All this may simply reflect some of the individual insecurity that the
626 foregoing sections certainly indicate might well exist in Atimelangers.
Furthermore, it expresses the conscious linkage in Atimelang between
shame and anger. This is a perfectly accurate observation of the Atime-
langers on their own psychology. What matters is what people say
about you, and you protect yourself from derogation by a vigorous
emotional discharge of anger. In this society, which has no organized
police force and has only a recently introduced system of litigation,
shame acts as the chief social sanction. Ridicule or derogation is simply
the external expression of what a person feels as shame. It is a pattern,
[55 as we have seen, established early in childhood. But since shame pro-
duces anger and since there is no police force or law, anger must be
diverted into other channels if the society is to have any cohesive
quality.
154 That anger is not directed inward is evidenced by the rarity of sui-
155 cide. Further, from the observations made on childhood it would appear
that the relationships of that period would not foster the internalizing
of sanctions. Hostility and shame must be directed outward upon the
world but in a form sufficiently sublimated to prevent social chaos. As
154 we have already seen, wealth is the answer. The dangers inherent in it
536 are indirectly recognized, since newly purchased gongs and mokos are
thought dangerous (i.e., illness-provoking) unless sacrifices have been
offered them, and large wealth displays are considered sources of dan-
ger to young children. In many instances hostility is directed into
wealth competition. At times, obviously, wealth as a means of express-
ing hostility will fail, and then recourse to direct violence alone remains.
The result, at least in the past, was war.

QUARRELS

578 In the following discussion of quarrels and war and their association
with wealth, the role of kinship as a form of status orientation will bear
observation. Quarrels in Atimelang were incessant and of varying mag-

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retorted that Djetmani would die the day that the lamp was broken and then added that he for one would be pleased to have it smashed immediately. To wish a person's death is one of the more deadly insults. Djetmani pointed his finger at Maugata and said that he would strike him were he a grown man, but after all Maugata was just an unmarried boy. Maugata at this point ran up so close to Djetmani, daring him to strike, that Djetmani's finger entered Maugata's eye. Maugata, who was now practically beside himself, shouted, "Why don't you pay for your mother's shroud? Why don't you give any feasts?" This referred to the fact that, about twenty years before, Maugata's father had furnished half a piece of cloth as a burial shroud for Djetmani's mother, and Djetmani, a man of about thirty with two wives, had not yet given any payoff death feasts.

As usual there had been nothing quiet or subdued about this quarrel. The exchange of insults had echoed through the whole valley and had attracted the guests at the all-night dance up on the knoll. Maugata's maternal uncle had joined the crowd that surrounded the fighters. When Maugata's last insult was delivered, his uncle suddenly lost his temper, berated him for quarreling and for his lack of restraint, and then hit him so hard over the left eye with a rattan club that the boy was stunned. Maugata, when he was brought to my house for medication, was quite obviously making the most of his injury. Meanwhile calmer neutrals had interfered, and the chief ordered both of the men to appear for a trial at sunrise when the dance ended.

The uncle and Djetmani danced all night, but Maugata went home and for at least three hours I heard his mother berate him in a voice audible to neighbors and passers-by. At the trial in the morning each in turn told his version of the quarrel. The uncle admitted that he had been at fault — not, however, in striking his nephew, but in striking him on the head. He had already paid his nephew a fine of seven and a half cents. The uncle was then dismissed. Djetmani in telling his tale became more and more despondent. He ended with the comment, "I have been made ashamed. I'll pay back that piece of cloth right now."

This immediately precipitated a general discussion about the relative value of the shroud and the piece of cloth that Djetmani was planning to cut in half by way of repayment. The cloth was brought, examined, and then finally accepted as an equivalent. The chief cut it in two and handed Maugata half. Djetmani got up and walked away crying. Maugata's mother was in tears and Maugata, looking very sullen and angry, was surreptitiously wiping his eyes. The next day Djetmani began the preliminary sacrifices involved in a payoff ceremony. This he was able

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426 This he was able
765 to give some five months later with assistance from the tumukun, whose
[571] satellite he was.

626 Another device to force participation in a feast is used only by kin.
[602] This constitutes a kind of capital levy. It consists of openly shooting a man's pig in its pen. Since pork is never eaten casually, this forces the pig owner into at least a minor feast. For a case of this sort, the death of Fantan's child as told in his autobiography (page 387) serves as an illustration. The same device is used to force a reluctant kinsman into contributing the dead pig to the shooter's feast. That is, a promise to pay is substituted for the pig. This is the process underlying the slaughtering of animals in the wealth contest described previously, and it brings out the advantages of having a large group of kinsmen. Even the accidental death of a pig is often the incentive for a feast or sacrifice. The same holds true if a man shoots a pig that is rooting up his garden after he has warned its owner of the damage it is doing.

There are then a number of ways of forcing a man into feast activities and the meeting of ceremonial obligations if he is reluctant to participate in the prestige game. In the case of individual debts the final recourse, when debtors are delinquent, is forceful seizure or threats of the
626 sort already mentioned. To carry such a procedure through success-
627 fully it is necessary to have a sufficient number of supporting kin or
602 satellites who will provide the intimidating show of force required.
571 There were many cases of this sort during my eighteen months there. As a rule pigs are the property seized, but even mokos and gongs are subject to seizure, although this means entering and searching another man's house. There is, however, a measure of protection against such procedure. Most financiers with large outstanding credits are careful to keep no very valuable pieces of currency where they can be confiscated. With mokos of lower value one makes every effort to lend them out at credit as soon as possible after receiving them. With mokos of high value, which circulate less freely, it is customary to bury them secretly in some well-concealed spot. Only a man's brother or his sons may be partners to the hiding place.

626 Pigs cannot be disposed of so easily. Instead there is a system of part-
571 nership in pig raising that assures the owner of an ally in case of seizure.
627 Furthermore, it is a way of concealing the extent of animal wealth. The
625 system is to furnish a partner, often in another village, with a piglet to raise. This partner acquires half interest in the animal by giving the owner a stipulated number of payments and by feeding it. If anyone
625 attempts to seize the pig for a debt incurred by either of the co-owners,
571 the partner is of necessity an ally against this forceful procedure. It is a

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his belt. Fanseni sent for Manifani, who was noted for his boldness in burying lepers. Because of this specialty he always had in his possession a few odds and ends of mats, pots, water tubes, and such things used by the people he had buried. The following morning Manifani set up a bamboo pole about five and a half feet high. The end of it was split and in the crotch he wedged a piece of the leper's mat. A man who erects such a curse should not chew areca, smoke, or have intercourse with his wife on the preceding night. Manifani was paid one cent for his services, which indicates that financial reward was scarcely the motivation for the acquisition and practice of his particular skill. That evening Fanseni took a smoldering brand, rubbed it against the foot of the bamboo pole, and told the soul of the leper to pursue the thief and give him leprosy. He then left the smoldering brand at the foot of the curse.

The practical result expected from this procedure is that the guilty person will be frightened into returning secretly the stolen object. Out of many cases of this sort I never knew one in which a curse actually served this purpose. In the case of Fanseni this certainly did not happen. The following night his wife called that she had just seen a firefly set out from near the pole. Several people rushed out and tried to follow it, since it was assumed that the firefly was the soul of the leper searching for the guilty person. Fireflies are very numerous, so the people were soon confused and gave up their attempt to follow it.

Presumably no person except the one who puts up a curse may take it down. In theory even the owner of a garden or a palm should not harvest produce until the proper person removes the curse. Actually the pole usually topples over of its own accord and is forgotten or disregarded.

Should a person develop any of the diseases for which there are curses, there is surprisingly little interest in trying to connect the illness and a specific theft. Correlatively, there is in the culture no concept of cure through confession. Repeatedly I brought up this question in relation to particular individuals only to have informants shrug off the question with a casual admission that possibly they were suffering from some curse against theft, but never have I seen curses included in divinations used to determine the sources of illness. An illness is not a source of shame, and it will be recalled that shame, not a sense of guilt, is the dominant sanction in Atimelang life.

This procedure all goes to indicate the automatic and essentially impersonal quality of curses. Also, although curses are in fairly common use and are of many varieties, they are probably no more numerous

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it back. We were hungry after that. I, mother, and Kawaimani went to the fields and built ourselves a small house in order to guard our corn. Every morning we would go out and find that people had come at night and stolen it. We cried, but people went right on stealing it. We had to eat very young ears, husks and all. Manimai didn't sleep at night. He would just watch the field. He would call, saying, "Children, are people stealing your corn? Every morning we see that people have come and stolen corn. Every morning we cry, but people have no pity and steal anyhow." [This public announcement was to produce shame in the thief, but care was taken to make accusations anonymous.]

[The accounts in this whole session were given in a serious, expressionless monotone. The only emotional expression was laughter over Falepangmai's mistakes. This was definitely the story of a person of little standing in the group and was told without effort to conceal the fact.]

March 12, 1939

[I asked whether she had dreamed last night and she told the following.] You were about to return to your country, and all the women wept. So you said, "I shall come back in two months; I am going for only two months." All the women said, "Oh, you are only lying to us. You had better stay here." Then you went away. [I doubt that this dream is authentic.]

When I was about fourteen, I and Kolata played together a lot, and whenever we were hungry we came back to the house to eat. We played and ate, played and ate. The two of us lived in a garden house, just the two of us. We slept there. At night we were afraid and slept through [i.e., did not get up to cook and talk as is usual]. One night someone must have come to our house while we slept. They ate up the corn that we had prepared and left in the pot. They put back the husks and covered the pot. We didn't know who. This went on night after night, and we were afraid. So we decided to sleep in the loft and take the pot of food up with us. In the morning we came down to eat in the main room.

Once Kolata and I went to play at Falingfokung. Djetmani came along beating a piece of metal. He said, "This is a moko for the bride-price of the two of you. I am going to buy you both. Tonight come to my house and cook for me and I shall eat." We were angry and told our parents. Our mothers were angry with him and said he could not play with us any more. But Djetmani came back to play with us anyhow, and our parents were angry and said we could not play with

436 goods. For the past half century mokos have no longer been imported, and the supply of currency is far less than the transactions of some seventy thousand inhabitants require. I was not able to make an actual estimate of the number of gongs, mokos and pigs on the island, but a government census some twenty years ago set the number of mokos at twenty thousand. This is undoubtedly an underestimation and it does not of course include gongs and pigs, but it does indicate that there is not a superabundance of currency. If there is a concept of profit and if there
426 is not an inexhaustible supply of currency, obviously one must resort to credit, and this is precisely what the Alorese have done. Like ourselves they consider credits as assets, so when a man is dying his last will consists of recounting to his heirs all his outstanding debts.

There are, however, certain marked differences between their system and ours. First, credit cannot be pyramided and, second, the profit system rests primarily on good will and not on law. In fact, there is no institutionalised
● [626] law in Alor; there is only custom. The result of this is that hostilities are held in check because a man fears to alienate a person who may some
[562] day be the object of a profitable loan. Incidentally, this permits women, who are not principals in the financial game, to be much more outspoken than men. In addition to a system of profit which rests on good will, custom requires that one should never pay debts until they have been repeatedly and persistently demanded by the creditor. This places the Alorese financier in the irritating position of having to dun constantly for payments, tactfully yet forcefully enough to get paid with the promised profit. If he fails to be persistent enough, he will not be paid. If he fails to be tactful enough, there will be a quarrel, the upshot of which will be at best a return of the property borrowed, without the addition of interest. In other words, in Alor as elsewhere the profit system can break down but it breaks down into simple reciprocity.

556 On the other hand, wealth can also be used as an expression of rivalry. An insult may precipitate two rival financiers into an orgy of pig slaughtering until they and even their remotest kin have emptied their pens. Finally a halt is called and the pigs are reckoned. The man who has slaughtered most is entitled to a formalised gloat which begins: "*Sapalïek!* The rooster's tail droops!" He then adds such insults and elaborations as the occasion and opponent furnish. However, the Alorese are a realistic and hard-headed lot and rarely allow themselves the luxury of such wasteful displays.

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